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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

Kikuyu men pass through four stages: youth, undifferentiated boys; warrior, circumcised men; and elderly, elders. They are circumcised between the ages of 18 and 25 years, and very rarely at any time after circumcision when their fathers become elders. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on casual affairs with wives of age-mates. Women go by four ages, girls, boy-friends, married women, and finally, when they begin to look old, unpleasant, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Relationship

The existing Dorobo relationship system, also, is structurally similar to that of the Kikuyu, and uses a number of Kikuyu terms; but it is less regular and includes in the other a larger number of persons than does the Kikuyu. Moreover, the collective term *mwanake* (which I did not find to use as a true relationship term in Kikuyu) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Kikuyu.

Within the other the chief terms are: in the third ascending generation, all males are *mwanake* and all females *mukiritu*; in the second ascending generation, all males are *baba* or *ahe* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *baba* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *ahe* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *gukui* = father's sister; *kwayo* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are similar = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *ahekuyo* = mother's brother; *ajuo* = mother's brother's wife; and *kwayo* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kwendu*; mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama*; and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *mwanke*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *ahekuyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *ajuo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, also includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *mwanke*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are also, except mother's brother's children's children, which are *mama*, and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kwendu*.

Among affines, wife's father is *mwanke*; wife's mother, *gukui*; wife's brother, *kwayo* and his wife, *gukui*; wife's sister *gukui* and her husband, *kwayo*; husband's brother's son and wife's sister's son, also; wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *gukui*. Husband's father is *gukui* and his mother, *gukui*; husband's brother *kwayo* and his wife, *mama*; husband's sister, *kwayo* and her husband's brother's children, *mama*; and husband's sister's children's children, *kwendu*.

In the other it is the father's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother's brother who stands out and occupies the special place in kinship. Not the mother

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over couple adult members of the horde, and no male could get a wife if he was circumcised; but it is possible for an uninitiated girl to get married, though few in fact are married without being circumcised.

2. Pre-marital sex-life

Unorganized manhood through circumcision, the Dorobo is free, subject to to restrictions inevitably imposed by a small population, to enter into intimate sex-life. But unmarried men often have to go without a great deal of sexual experience before they marry, and some in fact never marry on account of the shortage of women. Even in the old days few girls were available, and there were only married women with whom they could not court unless prepared to be shot by injured husbands if found out. This sex of affairs has led to some men living alone and unmarried, helped in the household tasks by women of the settlement. Some even did everything for themselves. The shortage of women, and the shyness of the Dorobo has resulted in a definite habit sufficiently in evidence to justify the adoption of a special term, for which I suggest the word mutilate. As it is to be noted that the Dorobo have accepted the mutilation of mutile as something quite natural, whereas by many other peoples the unmarried state in a grown man is considered unnatural.

Young brides to whom life without love does not appeal therefore wander about a good deal, going to places where they know there are girls, or women on whom they can have surreptitious affairs, such women often being the wife of age-mates, for although this is not openly allowed, a woman will sometimes, when her husband is away, oblige one of his age-mates and is nothing about it. In favourable circumstances, however, where there a girls available, unmarried circumcised men build small huts called ekimet close to their fathers' huts, where they may sleep with uncircumcised girls, each man choosing a girl and associating with her till she is married. A Dorobo, unlike the Nandi, often marries his premarital love. Uncircumcised boys caught by the men playing with girls who are sexually mature are beaten, for love affairs are the privilege of manhood.

3. Marriage

Dorobo normally marry women of an age fairly near their own, and do not by preference marry women very much younger than themselves.

A man comes his wife for himself, and himself makes the preliminary acquaintance. After making his choice, he takes the first step, by "going the journey" (amak kobi), to the hut of the girl's parents, or if they are dead, of a responsible relative, and hands over a large bag of honey, saying, "I want your daughter", to which the father answers, "Very well, take her presently". This ready acquiescence is due to the fact that the father already knows what is going on, for the suitor has been making enquiries about the girl, and such things always reach the ears of those concerned. Later

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Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or an enyon.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Un.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the above is forbidden; but with a classificatory enemband, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dwelbo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The kadoo (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This kadoo is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than in rural among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called sandals, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dwelbo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldoret Station and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkaren in the north to Tidoretet in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and as much is from any side reveals a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in Kenya," J.R.A.I., 1935, 197.